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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

11 September 1951

Memorandum for the Director of Central Intelligence

Subject: Return of the Graham Mission

Dr. Graham, the head of the UN Kashmir Commission, has informed US Ambassador Henderson that he has "almost" come to the conclusion that it is useless for him to remain any longer in South Asia. He stated that, while the governments of India and Pakistan were willing to agree to general principles, they (and particularly Nehru) refused to respond to concrete suggestions concerning the demilitarization of Kashmir.

The early departure of the Graham mission, although not wholly unexpected, might have the effect of sharpening the current tension between India and Pakistan. The failure of the mission would further impress both governments with the inability of the UN to act effectively in the Kashmir dispute. Consequently, India would be less than ever inclined to act cautiously in regard to the Constituent Assembly elections (which are already under way), and Pakistan might well be more than ever inclined to take matters into its own hands and use force in an attempt to prevent India from consolidating its hold over Kashmir.

This new development does not substantially affect the conclusions of NIE-41. The UN, however, will no longer have any excuse to avoid taking action once Dr. Graham has submitted

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his report. Consequently, the period during which Pakistan might have been expected to continue to hope for effective UN action will probably be reduced. Since it now appears extremely unlikely that any action the UN might take would effectively deter India, the danger of a resort to force by Pakistan is brought nearer. The UN's problem is further complicated by the probability that Pakistan would interpret UN representations against India (possibly based on recommendations in the Graham report) as moral justification of forceful action.

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